

United Kingdom Withdrawal from the European Union Reasons & Effects

خروج المملكة المتحدة من الاتحاد الأوروبي: الأسباب والاثار

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<p>Abstract: This study is about a very important subject in contemporary international relations, that is the withdrawal of the United Kingdom (UK) from the European Union (EU), after the referendum of June 23rd 2016, in which British people voted to leave this union. The study is looking at the reasons which led to this withdrawal, & the effects that the withdrawal causes on the United Kingdom itself & on the European Union as well. The importance of the study comes from its attempts to show that some international integration experiences may fail, because of internal problems & difficulties they confront in trying to realise their objectives. The study concludes that in spite of the great success which the European integration</p>	<p>ملخص: تدور هذه الدراسة حول موضوع ذي أهمية كبيرة في العلاقات الدولية المعاصرة، ألا وهو انسحاب المملكة المتحدة من الإتحاد الأوروبي بعد استفتاء الشعب البريطاني الذي جرى في 23 جوان 2016 تقوم الدراسة بتبيان الأسباب التي أدت إلى هذا الانسحاب البريطاني، والاثار التي تركها على المملكة المتحدة نفسها وعلى الإتحاد الأوروبي كذلك . وتكمن أهمية هذه الدراسة في أنها تحاول إظهار أن بعض تجارب التكامل الدولي قد يكون مآلها الفشل نظرا للمشاكل والصعوبات الداخلية التي تواجهها في محاولاتها الوصول إلى أهدافها الرئيسية. وتنتهي الدراسة إلى أنه رغم النجاحات الكبيرة التي حققتها التجربة الأوروبية التكاملية، إلا أن هذا الانسحاب البريطاني</p>
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experience has realised, but the withdrawal of the United Kingdom may lead this experience to a collapse.

Keywords: United Kingdom, European Union, Referendum, Withdrawal, Reasons & effects, Brexit.

قد يكون سببا لتراجع هذه التجربة، بل ربما لفشلها التام.

الكلمات المفتاحية: المملكة المتحدة، الاتحاد الأوروبي، الاستفتاء، الانسحاب، الأسباب والآثار، البريكست.

Introduction:

After two destructive world wars, which **Europe** had witnessed the European leaders decided at the beginning of the 1950s, to work for its unity, with the purpose to avoid another war in the continent.

As a result, a process of a European integration started, with the hope to reach a united Europe. This process has realised great successes, & many European countries joined it. Among these countries, the **United Kingdom**, which became a member of the **European community** in 1973 .

Since then, many problems & difficulties have been going on between it & the **European Community** first & then with the **European Union**, till they led at the end to the **withdrawal** of **UK** from this union, after a referendum of the British people who voted for this withdrawal, known by (**Brexit**).

The questions to be raised here are: what are the main **reasons** that pushed **UK** to withdraw from the **European Union**? & what are the **effects** of this withdrawal on **UK** itself & on the **European Union** as well?

Chapter 1: A Historical background of UK relations with the European Union:

As mentioned above, after the second world war, the idea of constructing a **European union** manifested at the hope of uniting the continent to avoid the restarting of a future war. British prime minister (**Winston Churchill**) supported this idea, In his speech in

Zurich in 1946, he suggested that Europe should become “an entity which can live according to it, in peace security & freedom, as a sort of united states of Europe”. Many observers thought that **UK** would participate in this endeavour, but Churchill’s vision was not a united Europe within which **UK** would participate completely, as he put it: “**We are with you, not among you**”.

So, **UK** did not take seriously the idea of the unity of Europe, because of fear that a united Europe would threaten its sovereignty, even it did not look at it to be possible, for this reason, it took the position of wait & see, to know whether this union would succeed & whether it would last long.⁽¹⁾

The bad economic situation after world war 2, & the military commitments of **UK** in Europe & over the world, with its hope to preserve the “special relations” with the USA, all these issues pushed **UK** not to join the process of the European integration.

Although **UK** has backed the political developments in Europe, & supported them, but it has opposed the membership in any European organisation, or in any supra -national integration. At the beginning of the 1950s, it looked at the participation in the **European coal & steel community**, & in the European defence, as not to be in accordance with its other international commitments as a world power with such large external commitments, as its relations with the commonwealth, & its special relations with the USA... etc⁽²⁾. In January 1st 1952, British foreign minister (**Anthony Eden**) clarified that: “If you are leading a nation to adopt measures which contradict its instincts, you are weakening & destroying its impulsive power. I am speaking about the repeated suggestion for **UK** to join the union in the European continent. We know from our deep feelings, that this is a

⁽¹⁾ André Liech & Basil Germond, *Construire l’Europe Mélange en Hommage à Pierre du Bois*, Graduate Institute Publications, Genève 2008; p12.

⁽²⁾ Medjden Mohammed, *the Arab World & the Atlantic Relations (1970-1990)*, non-published Ph. D thesis in Political sciences & International Relations, University of Algiers, 2007.

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thing which we cannot do it. The British destiny and its interests are out of Europe"⁽³⁾.

In fact, **UK** always considers itself as having an Atlantic extension, much more than it has a European orientation, this means that it is with the unity of Europe, but without having to abdicate its sovereignty & its characteristics.

As a consequence, it refused to join the European Economic Community (**EEC**), created by the (**Treaty of Rome**) on 25th March 1957, on the contrary, it took other options of economic integration, that is establishing a free trade zone, by leaving out customs barriers between member states, but with the preservation of their sovereignties. In 1959, the European Free Trade Association (**EFTA**) was established.

But because of the success realised by the **EEC**, by 1960, also because of fear of being isolated from **Europe** by staying out, & with the hope to benefit from the large European markets, **UK** reconsidered its attitude toward the **EEC**. As a result, it presented its demand for a membership since 1961, but was refused twice by the French president (**Charles de Gaulle**), who thought that **UK**'s strategy was to interdict the unity of Europe, more than that, he accused it to have a deep hostility toward the European entity. But when de Gaulle went, after long negotiations, **UK** was given a membership in the **EEC** on 01 Jan. 1973.

When becoming a member, it began calling for restarting of negotiations about its entrance conditions. In 1974, it used the negotiations process to threaten the European leaders by demanding that the clauses of the negotiations would be presented to the British people for a general referendum. In 1975 this referendum took place, in which 67% of the British people voted for the staying in the **EEC**, which was at that time just as a free trade zone only.

By 1980, European leaders have been concentrating on the increase of integration, on the orientation toward a Europe more

⁽³⁾ Nicola Roussilier, *l'Europe des Traités de Schuman à Delors*, CNRS éditions, Paris 2007, pp135-143.

united politically, also toward one market & one currency. But In the British opinion the moving of **EEC** toward a political union, to one market & one currency, would make UK just as another state integrated in Europe, this means that it has to give up

some of its sovereignty & authority to the **EEC**, its parliamentary laws to be moved from **London** to the **European parliament**, which cannot be accepted.

In fact, all over the **EU** stations & processes, UK has played a role of opposing union's laws & its orientations. British politicians who opposed **UK**'s entrance into the **EU**, always played on the sensitive strings of the British public opinion's conscience, notably the historical heritage stings, (British glory & sovereignty). They argued that **UK** should look always at its empire history & at its influence in the world, it should not be dissolved into the **EU**, & wear away its entity & its heritage.

The geographical dimension has also an importance in this matter, as **UK** is separated from the European continent, & from the rest of the world, this makes it as a unique state, which has its own characteristics & feelings full of proud & pride of its immemorial past & its heritage.

The "Special Relations", which bring **UK** & the USA together, construct the Axis of its foreign policy. Although Britain has tried repeatedly to integrate into the European project, but it has struggled to preserve its Atlantic visions.⁽⁴⁾

Since its entrance into the EEC in the 1970s, **UK** did not show a big interest to work for developing the policies which the community, seeks to reach, like the one market, which aims at reaching a free movement of persons & goods, a united financial policy, as well as a common foreign policy purpose, in addition to security & defence

⁽⁴⁾ Medjden Mohammed, the SALT Process in Relation to NATO-Europe, Master dissertation in International Relations & Strategic Studies, University of Lancaster, UK, 1982.

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policy. In fact, **UK** has played a negative role in these matters, with the intention to preserve its complete sovereignty.

By the end of the 1970s, with the arrival of (**Margret Thatcher**) to power in 1979, in spite of her support to Europe at the beginning, she gave a speech in 1988 in Bruges, Belgium, in which she clarified **UK**'s position clearly, by refusing a great European state which exercises its power & domination from Brussels. She has also fought to get a special reduction on **UK** contribution in the EU budget, through her famous words: "**I want my money back**"⁽⁵⁾

In 1992, with the (**Maastricht treaty**), which established the **EU**, & consecrated the common foreign & defence policy, although **UK** approved this treaty, but it was still rejecting the establishment of a **common foreign & defence policy**, but affirming on the necessity to strengthen & reinforce the European military capabilities inside **NATO**⁽⁶⁾.

When the **EU** members decided to participate in a **united visa entrance**, for free circulation of persons & goods (**Schengen Area**), **UK** refused to join, because of fear that its borders would be violated, also of a fear of immigrations. As a consequence, during the **Amsterdam treaty** of the **EU** in 1999, an agreement reached with **UK**, that it would stay out of **Schengen**⁽⁷⁾.

Concerning the financial unity, **UK** has opposed from the beginning the idea of creating one **European currency**. It wanted to preserve its sovereignty, & to guarantee the flexibility provided by a national currency, in case of a necessity to decrease its value, or in case of a political will to do that. As a result, **UK** asked to be exempted from the **Euro**. It succeeded in preserving the Sterling out of the **European monetary system**, because of its success in the economic area,

⁽⁵⁾ David Romiro Troitino, Margaret Thatcher & the EU, Historical Issues, in: https://www.ies.ec/n_06/articles/iesp_n_06, pp124-150. Pdf. seen on: 15th December 2018.

⁽⁶⁾ Medjden Mohammed, Challenges of Constructing a United & Influential European Foreign Policy, el Mofekkir Review, University of Biskra, 2014.

⁽⁷⁾ Steve Peers, the UK & the Schengen System, in: <https://ukandeu.ac/uk/the-uk-and-the-schengen-system>, seen on: 14th June 2017.

particularly, in its relations with the USA, also because of its political & economic position in the world, & its weight among the European states.

In fact, **UK**'s positions & stands toward the process of the European unity are due to British sceptic vision, which goes back to many considerations:

- Geographical location: British people live in an island surrounded by oceans which are the source of their unfinished inspiration. The popular expression: "**We go to Europe**" to refer to crossing the English Channel into the continent, expresses the feeling to be different, which is linked to the mind & the imagination of the British people.

-Historical considerations: **UK** colonial adventures, its great investments abroad, with the flows of immigrants into it, all made the country an important

Centre at the world level, that **London** has been classified as the biggest capital in Europe, & the most worldwide city, with 30 % of foreign inhabitants.

This historical image which is linked to the mind of the British people, does not serve & does not fit the European construction process.

-Economic considerations: In the 1990s the **British** economy witnessed a great deterioration, comparing with how it was at the beginning of the 1970's, that is before joining the EEC.

There is also a belief of the British people that the majority of problems & wars, which Britain witnessed, were all coming from Europe, while, the Americans have always been standing at their side, notably in difficult times. For this reason, **UK** has always tried to strengthen European security within (**NATO**).

From all what we have said, it looks that since their entrance into the **EU**, British people have assembled a hope to be isolated with

themselves, only with a small link to Europe. In one word, they want to be part of Europe without being a real member.

Chapter 2: UK Referendum to leave the European Union of June 23rd 2016

From what we have mentioned above, we can see that there have been two important issues which have been of concern to British political elites about **UK**'s entrance into the **EU**: The sovereignty & the nationality, that is because this entrance means transferring of many authorities to the institutions of this union, this includes numbers of laws which would be issued in **Brussels**, not in London. In addition to other changes. This situation according to these elites, contradicts the concept that each country is a nation, issues of laws & different policies is a feature, & a sign of its independence & sovereignty.

In reality, since its entrance into the **EU**, **UK** has lost much of its prerogatives & authorities with the development of the European integration process, because the **EU** as a supra -national body, overcomes national boundaries, which means a challenge to **UK** identity, sovereignty & history. This situation created sharp divisions among British political elites, created great problems to successive governments.

Among the consequences, the British **Independence Party** adopted an idea of hostility toward the **EU**, which gave it an important support from big sects of **UK** people. This also caused divisions inside the **conservative party**, & led to the rise of big public opinion which opposes the **EU**. The popularity of the Independence party increased when it reached the 3rd position in the general elections of 2015. As a result, it obtained seats in the **EU parliament**, which gave it the opportunity to oppose many issues of the union, & to complicate its missions. This success of this party is a proof of more increase of the British opinion calling for separation with the **EU**.

With the signature of (**Maastricht treaty**) on 07th February 1992, many voices in **UK** were putting questions about the future & the nature of relation with this new institution, & were wondering about the policies of it. For this reason, great pressures have been put on

successive British governments to organise a referendum about **UK** membership in the **EU**.

These pressures realised their objective in 2010, under the conservatives when their party arrived to power that year. The party put a foreign policy's orientation which was included under the framework of renewing Great **Britain's** glory which, according to them, is full of victories & triumphs. To renew that, is by enforcing relations with such great states as the USA, Russia & China, not through the EU institutions, with the hope that **Great Britain** would get back its world role & its position in international relations.

The world financial crisis of 2008, has also a great impact in increasing tensions between **UK** & the **EU** on many issues, it also has impact on the rise of more complaints within **UK** people, particularly among the conservatives, about the immigrants from East European countries, which joined the **EU** in 2004 & 2007. There was also a disagreement about dealing with & treating the problem of refugees, in addition to other problems between **UK** & the **EU**.

To meet these situations, the conservative party in office under (**David Cameroun**), promised to organise a **referendum** about the staying in or the withdrawal of **UK** from the **EU**, if his party wins the 2015 elections. When he arrived to power after these elections, he used the threat on **EU** leaders to leave the union, as a negotiation instrument for better conditions to **UK**. Among the unsolved issues between **UK** & the **EU**, the project of imposing taxes on banks & restricting the financial sector in London, which can discard London, while making **Paris & Frankfurt** more attractive financial centres. This would weaken the economic position in **UK**, which would not be acceptable.

Although (**David Cameroun**) received during these negotiations of improving conditions, which no other country received, the deal of these negotiations which he obtained included many beneficial points to **UK**, the most important was that the European immigrants to **UK** would not receive any government's help until they get employment in **UK**, & until they participate in its tax system. The deal also

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included the non-responsibility of **UK** to save the economies of the European countries which are facing difficulties in the Euro zone.

Despite of all these concessions by the **EU**, but they were not enough to convince those who opposed the staying of **UK** in the union. More than that, they led a movement marked by steering up national tendencies of the British people, with the support of the media of the right which nourished more the hate toward all which are foreigners. It is important to mention here the intoxication campaigns used in the social net media (face book & others), by those who favoured the withdrawal, to influence the referendum results.

In January 2016, (**David Cameroun**) declared that he would organise a popular referendum about the possibility of **UK**'s withdrawal from the **EU**, in June 23rd 2016, **UK** people voted for that, in which 46.501.241 million voters participated (72.2%), to give an answer to this question: "**Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union, or leave the European union?**" The **referendum** results were: 51.9 % voted for the **withdrawal** (17.4 million) , & 48 % for the **remaining** (16.1 million).⁽⁸⁾

In the vote there have been differences concerning the ages of the voters & the regions of the vote. Young people (between 18 & 34), voted for the **staying** in the EU, by 73 %, while old people (between 55 & 65) voted for the **withdrawal**, by 50%.⁽⁹⁾ The region's differences were: In **England** 63.4 % voted for the **withdrawal**, 36.6 % for the **remaining**. In **Wales** 52% for the **withdrawal**, 48 % for the **remaining**. While in **Scotland** 44.2% for the **Withdrawal**, 55.8% for the **Remaining**. In **Northern Ireland**, 48% for the **withdrawal**, 52% for the Remaining.⁽¹⁰⁾

After the vote in favour of the **withdrawal**, Cameroun declared his intention to resign within 3 months after the appearance of the

⁽⁸⁾ <https://www.electoral.commission.org.uk/find-information-by-subject/elections-and-referendums/upcoming-elections-and-referendums/eu-referendums/electorate-and-count-information>, seen on: 14th May 2018

⁽⁹⁾ Ibid.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Op. Cit

referendum results⁽¹¹⁾. When his successor (**Theresa May**) arrived to office, she demanded the application of article 50 of **Lisbon treaty** of 19th October 2007, which shows the ways to any member state to leave the **EU** voluntarily & from one side, according to its constitutional exigencies. Since then, negotiations about how **UK** will leave the **EU**, have been going on⁽¹²⁾.

Chapter 3: Reasons of Brexit: The **referendum** of June 23rd 2016 results showed the wish of the majority of British people to leave the **EU**. But this wish is not new, the history has shown that **UK** has always struggled to have a separate distance from the rest of Europe, since the 1950's. It did not want to join the **EEC**, & it did not change its attitude except by 1973, after its entrance, a crisis of confidence appeared, which led to a referendum in 1974. But this referendum gave the advantage to those who favour the staying in by 67 %.

After the results of the **referendum**, many questions have been put about the **withdrawal reasons**. These reasons are political & security reasons in one side, also economic & trade reasons in the other.

1. Political & Security Reasons: These reasons can be seen in many issues ranging from sovereignty, lack of democracy, & immigration issues, to military British world influence & fear of terrorism issues.

A. The Sovereignty Issue: This issue has been considered to be one of the unsolved subjects since **UK** entrance into the **EU**. It has constituted one point of agreement between all successive governments, conservative or labour. **UK** has defended the continuity of the idea of economic unity between the member States in the **EU**, but it has always opposed the idea of a political integration, that is why it has supported the **EEC**, it wanted it to be an entity of an economic & trade character, with the purpose to realise British interests, & those of its allies, particularly the **USA**.

⁽¹¹⁾ David Cameroun Resigns after UK votes to leave the European Union, in: <https://www.the-guardian.com/politics>, seen on: 04th July 2017.

⁽¹²⁾ Brexit, What does Article 50 of Lisbon Treaty mean? in: <https://www.bc/arabic/world/393286654>.

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In fact, many observers see that **UK** has never been part of Europe, as its culture & language make it nearer to the **USA**, more than to Europe, for this reason, they argued that would not lose its influence in the world as a result of its separation from the **EU**. On the contrary, the withdrawal would give it an opportunity to determine its destiny, & to issue its laws as a sovereign state, far from being integrated in a **EU** entity which restricts its sovereignty⁽¹³⁾.

B. Absence of democracy inside the EU: Those who voted for **Brexit**, argued that the **EU** is a system which lacks of democracy practiced in the British system. They mentioned the large powers & authorities given to the **European Commission**, which is not elected, but has the right to put law projects before the **European Parliament** which is elected directly by the European people.⁽¹⁴⁾

C. Immigration & free movement issues: These issues are among the most important subjects which have determined relations between **UK** & the **EU**. Five years after the policy related to limiting the immigration to **UK** in 2010, the average of immigrants to **UK** reached the highest level by the end of August 2015, this pushed the British government repeatedly, to move to reduce the size of immigration. But according to the **EU** law with **UK**, it was not possible to interdict any person from member states of the **EU**, his right to come, to live & to work in **UK**. As a result, a great number of immigrants arrived, notably from eastern & southern Europe. For example in 1991, 100.000 immigrants came to **UK**, but in 2015 the number reached 250.000.⁽¹⁵⁾

Because of that, British people felt that these immigrants have great effects on the economic cost, & on the tax incomes, their national identity & culture are becoming subjects to attack, the British traditional values are to be emarginated, because of giving more concerns to satisfy the needs, the religions & the believes of the foreigners. They also felt that these flows of immigrants are creating a

⁽¹³⁾ Quelles Seraient les Conséquences d'un Brexit pour l'UE ? in : <https://www.Europe1.fr> 18.2.2016, afp, seen on: 23rd November 2018.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Ahmed Boukhris, the Withdrawal of Britain from the European Union: Reasons & Consequences, in: <https://democraticee.de/?p=50120>.

⁽¹⁵⁾ CFP analysis of ONS (2016), <http://bit.ly/1t25w6w>. seen on: 14th June 2018.

great danger to education, health care & housing. About the health care, many laws in **UK** related to the system of hospitals, have been passed, that is these hospitals are to be opened to any person from member states of the **EU**. This system costs **UK** billions of Pounds each year. These laws led to the augmentation of the cost of medical doctors & nurses who have been added, it led also to the increase of the waiting times for the British people, who pay big taxes to get & to preserve these services.

D. Fear of building a European military force: Which would replace **NATO** led by **UK** & the **USA**. This fear increased when the president of the European commission (**Jean Claude Junker**) called at the beginning of 2016, for the creation of a common army for the **EU**, to confront Russia & other threats.⁽¹⁶⁾

E. British International Influence: British people believe that the influence of their country inside the **EU** is weak, on the contrary, when it withdraws from it, it will be able to act freely, & can obtain seats inside such world institutions it has already lost because of its entrance into the **EU**, as the World Trade Organisation (**WTO**), in addition to other world influences.

F. Fear of Terrorism: The increase of terrorist attacks in Europe recently, pushed the British people to support the idea of separation from the **EU**, because this would lead to the abolition of the open frontiers agreement between European member states & **UK**, this would limit the movements of the European citizens to Britain, & therefore, this would interdict the terrorists from coming to **UK**.⁽¹⁷⁾

Economic & Trade Reasons: Here there are many issues ranging from economic Restrictions, free trade & internal economic problems issues, to International economic & financial problems & crises issues.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Ahmed Boukhris, Op. Cit

⁽¹⁷⁾ 8 Reasons Push Britain to Withdraw from the European Union, in: <https://alkhalegonline.net/%D8>, seen on: 10th February 2018.

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A. EU Economic Restrictions Issues: The EU has imposed customs duties on its member states. This has met an opposition from the British people, because that would gage their treasury, as UK must pay 55 million Pounds every day, at the time when it was following a policy of mortification, because of its balance deficit. UK also did not want to abolish its currency, as the EU called that the Euro would be the only official currency of all member states.⁽¹⁸⁾

B. Free Trade Issues: Those who opposed the staying in the EU, affirmed that Brexit would permit UK to establish a free trade zone with other states like the USA, China, India, & others without being submitted to the EU laws.

C. Freeing British Economy from the debts sequels of European countries like Greece, Cyprus, Portugal, Belgium, Italy & Spain, which the value of their debts has overcome the value their Gross National Production. Adding to other European countries which have been candidates to financial explosion as well, because of these debts, such as Ireland, France & Hungary.⁽¹⁹⁾

D. Reduction of the budget of the essential Services: These services included the programs of social service, education & health service. This reduction led to sharp retreat of the type of life of the British people, also their standard of living, particularly those of the low & the middle income who depend greatly in their living, upon the government free & subsidized services.

E. The World Economic & Financial Crisis: In 2008 the great economies of the world faced a financial & economic crisis, with the increase of the un equality in dealing with this crisis by world institutions, & the failure of the EU through the **European Central Bank** to solve the structural dilemmas of the European economies, in addition to the increase of the unemployment rates.⁽²⁰⁾

⁽¹⁸⁾ Ahmed Boukhris, Op. Cit.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Ahmed Dhikr Allah, Economic Consequences of the withdrawal of Britain from the European Union, in : [www. erpiiss- eg-org](http://www.erpiiss-eg.org).

⁽²⁰⁾ Andrienne Sigel, Brexit : Quelles sont les conséquences d'une sortie du Royaume uni de UE ,in :

F. Crisis of the Euro Zone & the reduction of the growth rates:

This crisis increased the state of non-satisfaction within the European public opinion toward the EU, pushed to the rise of the far right populism movements in Europe, which opposed the economic policies of the EU, denounced the ruling elites & hated the immigrants.

G. Fear of domination of the Euro zone states on the courses of the decisions making procedures in the EU. The financial union which UK refused to join, has become the centre of the decision making in the EU, because all decisions required to be negotiated by the members of this union first, then to be presented to the member states of the EU.

Chapter 4: The Effects of Brexit: The referendum of June 23rd 2016, which led UK to leave the EU, created a state of fear everywhere, especially among the European & the world financial & political circles. It also presented a real challenge to the success of the European integration experience. The most important it created great different effects on UK itself in one side, others on the EU in the other.

1. The Effects on UK: There are effects on UK unity, & economic effects as well.

A. Effects on the unity of UK: In the referendum of 2016, people of Scotland & of Northern Ireland, each, expressed their opposition to leave the EU.⁽²¹⁾The referendum results had great effects on the cohesion of the British people, his unity has become the subject of doubt. The Scottish & the Irish people each, asked for another referendum about their staying in or leaving UK itself.

For Scotland, in the 2014 referendum, it refused the separation from UK by 55.3 % to stay & 44.7 % for independence. But after the

<https://www.bfmtr.com/interactive/2019/world/europe/what-is-brexite,html>, seen on: 14th July 2019.

⁽²¹⁾ What is Brexit ? & What happens next? the New York Times, in: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/world/Europe/what-is-brexite,html>, seen on: 24th October 2018.

2016 referendum, the requests for independence came back. Scottish prime minister declared after this **referendum** that the circumstances have changed after the 2014 **referendum**, she reaffirmed that **Scotland** would initiate negotiations with the **EU** about staying inside it, this cannot be possible unless **Scotland** gets its independence from **UK**. The prime minister pointed out that: “**UK** which **Scotland** voted to stay in, in 2014, does not exist anymore? & it is possible to organise a new referendum after **Brexit**”.⁽²²⁾

In **Northern Ireland**, after **Brexit**, the (**Sein Fine**) party, the political face of the Irish Republican Army (**IRA**), called for a referendum for a united Ireland, the north & the south. The **Republican Party** there reaffirmed that **Brexit** would have great consequences on the nature of **UK** state.⁽²³⁾

Some observers predicted that **Brexit** would also affect the British internal policy, as it would create a political support to the movements of the far rights, like the Independence Party (**UKIP**), & the far right wing inside the conservative party, as well as to possible effects on the cohesion & the accordance inside this important party itself.

B. Economic Effects: Those who supported the staying in the **EU**, saw that there were many dangers which would hit **UK**, among them & the most important was the economic isolation of the country, & the sharp deflation which would strike its Gross National Production (GNP), by 6 % to 0.5 %.⁽²⁴⁾

But others saw that **Brexit** would be of benefit to **UK** as it would exempt it from the direct cost of its contribution to the **EU** budget, which is about 1.25 % of its GNP. For example, in 2015 **UK** paid 8.6 % billion pounds, which represents 12 % of the **EU** budget. They also said that **Brexit** would lead to save & spare more government

⁽²²⁾ The Independence of Scotland, the Waited British Autumn, in: <https://alroya.On/post/184598>, seen on: 10th February 2018.

⁽²³⁾ Ibid.

⁽²⁴⁾ Euler Hermes, les Conséquences du Brexit pour les Economies Britanniques, Européennes & Françaises, in: <https://www.eulerhermes/fr/actualities/consequences-brexit-economies-britaniques-europeennes-et-françaises.html>, seen on: 14th July 2017.

expenditures to support health services, which have been facing a big weakness, because of reduction of the budget reserved to these services. The saving of the costs of **UK** contribution to the **EU** budget is 17 % of Which it spends on the health service Sector.⁽²⁵⁾ They also argued that **Brexit** would exempt **UK** from other direct costs because of its submission to the **EU** legislations, like those related to job regulations. **UK** would also be exempted from the financial restrictions of the common **European agricultural policies**, & from the costs resulting from the increase of the unemployment in the country because of the immigrations from Europe which would be reduced. **Brexit** would also liberate **UK** from the financial deficit with the **EU**, estimated by 3 % of its GNP. It would also liberate it from the control of the **European commission**.

But **UK** exports to the European countries would be submitted to custom duties imposed on it, as they are imposed on other non-union countries, & the costs of its imports to Europe would increase.⁽²⁶⁾

In reality after the 2016 **referendum**, the exchange price of the **Pound Sterling** registered a retreat with regard to the **Dollar**, it reached its lowest level, which did not happen for more than 30 years, its value decreased from 1.47 Dollars, to 1.25 by the end of 2016, that is by 15 %. This augmented the rate of inflation & the increase of the prices of the essential goods for the British consumers. This increase of the rate of inflation caused by the retreat in the fields of investments, which pushed the **British Central Bank** to reduce the interest rate price to 0.25 %, & this in turn, increased the inflation pressures. The rates of Exchange jumped from 0.3 % to 0.6 % in July 2016, & from 01 % in September 2016, to 2.3 % at the beginning of 2017. This had negative effects on the British consumers, on the state of investments & on the job market.

⁽²⁵⁾ Marline Charlotte Andé, le Brexit, Quelles Conséquences sur les Economies Britanniques et de l'Union Européennes, l'Observatoires des Politiques Economiques en Europe, 2019, pp 2-11 in : [https://www.researchgate.net/deref/http % 3 af % 2f. www.spee.unistra,fr %,spip, pnp % f article 393](https://www.researchgate.net/deref/http%3af%2fwww.spee.unistra.fr%2fspip, pnp%2farticle393), seen on: 16th April 2019.

⁽²⁶⁾ Ahmed Boukhris, Op. Cit.

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But many specialists said that this situation was only an immediate reaction to the referendum results, the economic situation would return to its normal states & perhaps to better after that.⁽²⁷⁾

In 2018, the British GNP reached 2.88 billion dollars, the population was 65.65 million, the personal part from the GNP was 43600 dollars, the service sector represented 80 % of GNP. In 2017, trade with the EU an average of 43 % of the exports of goods & services to the EU member states, & of 53.8 % of the imports from these countries, that is because the British economy is flexible, it realised a growth of 1.8 % in that year, which has overcome many predictions, & the unemployment remained low in the same year, by a rate of 4.4 %, as it was before the referendum.

Concerning the investment & according to UN Organisation for Development, the direct foreign investments over the world has retreated by 1 % in 2019, to reach 1.39 trillion Dollars, comparing to 1.41 % in 2018. & according to an analysis done by the Financial Times, showed that **Brexit** has consolidated the direct foreign investments in 27 EU states during 3 years after the **referendum** the total of capital invested in these countries augmented to 43 % in the same year, comparing with the three previous years.⁽²⁸⁾

The Fdi Market Company, a base of data owned by the British Journal of Investments over the frontiers, & which covers all countries & all sectors over the world), this company clarified that with **Britain** the matter was completely the opposite, the rate of foreign investments in **UK** has witnessed a decrease of 6 %, because of **Brexit**, the capital invested by foreign companies in the new direct investments in **UK** has decreased by 36 billion Dollars to reach 85 billion Dollars, despite the marginal augmentation in 2018, while the flows of direct investments in **Germany** in 2019, doubled three times, because Multi-National Corporations financed the credits of its subordinate foreign companies , to reach 40 billion Dollars in

⁽²⁷⁾ <http://ar.tradineconomics.com/united-kingdom/inflation-CPC-2017>, seen on: 20.10.2017.

⁽²⁸⁾ Mohamed Ramadhan, the States of the European Union harvest the Fruits of British Withdrawal, in <https://aborsaanews.com/2019/06/13/12112836>, seen on: 20th June 2018.

2019, compared to 12 billion Dollars in 2018. In **France** the flows of direct investments also augmented to reach 52 billion Dollars in 2019, compared to 37 billion Dollars in 2018.⁽²⁹⁾ In the word of the analyst of Fdi Market Company, Christine Mc Milan: “It is obvious that the neighbouring states began to harvest the fruits of **Brexit**”.⁽³⁰⁾

In another area, & because of **Brexit**, a big retreat of the numbers of immigrants coming to settle in **UK** have been registered, this led to a decrease in the housing market, an increase in the job market, which gave the British economy a kind of equilibrium, because of the decrease of the unemployment, & the increase of the capability to rent. All these new events brought out a kind of a social stability in the country.⁽³¹⁾

2. Effects of Brexit on the European Union: Generally speaking, because of **Brexit** the EU has lost the membership of an essential state, as **UK** has been considered to be one of the most important pillars in the **EU**, it is the 5th world economy, a financial centre of Europe, & the owner of the greatest European direct investments, having a permanent seat in the security council, in addition to other potentialities.

Brexit has caused many **effects** on the **EU**, ranging from strategic & security in one hand & economic & financial in the other, in addition to other effects:

A. Strategic & Security Effects: According to a report of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (**IISS**) in 2015, **UK** is classified 5th in the world, & 3rd in **NATO** in military expenditures, it also has a professional army, with 233540 soldiers.

In arms production & sales, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (**SIPRI**) report in December 2018, that among 24

⁽²⁹⁾ Ibid

⁽³⁰⁾ Ibid.

⁽³¹⁾ EU Citizens moving to UK halved since Brexit vote, in:

<https://www.statista.com/chart/19100/inflow-of-EUeu-adults-to-the-UK-for-work-related-reasons>. Seen on: 25th October 2019.

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companies of 100 first companies of arms sales in the world, centred in western Europe, their sales augmented in 2017 by 3.8 %, to reach 94.9 billion Dollars. **UK** classified first in arms production in this zone during this year, the value of its sales reached 35.7 billion Dollars, due to the increase of the sales of its giant companies, the **BAE & Rolls Roys**.⁽³²⁾ This shows that **UK** has great capacities in the field of arms production & sales, because of its big investments in this field, which makes it a very important actor that it is not possible to lose in the **European Security & Defence Policy**.

In nuclear capability, **UK** with **France** have been the only states in the EU to have nuclear arsenal, France is 3rd in the World after the **USA & Russia**, & **UK** is 5th after the 3 states mentioned, & **China**.

In the field of investments in military industry, **UK** has been the biggest in Europe. It allocates more than 2 % of its GNP each year to this field. It is classified 1st in owning military industrial complexes in Europe, with nearly 7 companies, among them the giant company mentioned above.

There is also the big size of **UK** militarily through its participation in the EU military forces, which represented 50 % of its capacity of aircraft carriers, 50 % of its nuclear submarines, 37 % of its ground based radar system, 16 % of its naval forces & 11 % of its air forces, in addition to its territorial forces. All have made **UK** the 2nd force after **France** in the **EU** in these areas, & the 1st in the field of intelligence.⁽³³⁾

Another factor is the presence of **UK** in the world through its military bases, particularly those centred in strategic regions, like its bases in Cyprus, its potential baring option for its nuclear forces in the

⁽³²⁾ Andé Fleurant, Alexandra Kuimova & others, the SIPRI, fact sheet, December 2018, SIPRI, Stockholm, 2018, pp 1-12.

⁽³³⁾ - James Black, Alex Hall Cox, Marta Rape, Erik Silverstern, Defense & Security after Brexit, Understanding the possible Implications of the UK's decision to leave the EU, Compendrum Report, RND Corporation, Cambridge, UK, 2016, pp 65-95-116.

south of Britain & in the **USA**, also its domination of **Gibraltar Strait**. All these, make **UK** a military power by excellence.⁽³⁴⁾

If these are **UK**'s potentialities in the fields of defence & security, **Brexit** will lead to a far reach effect which will touch foreign policy & defence & security policy of the **EU**, its position in the world, as it will lose one of the most powerful pillar, through which the **EU** policy is based, & without **UK** the future European defence will remain a far reach dream⁽³⁵⁾

Brexit also will affect the missions & the operations of the common European Security & Defence Policy (**CSDP**). But this effect will be limited because **UK** capabilities have never been under the **EU** disposition, as the majority of its contributions have been of civil characteristic, for example, from 2003, to 2016 the average of its participations was between 1 or 2 a year & sometimes with no participation.⁽³⁶⁾ But the **CSDP military** may affect the **Eufor Althea**, because it is the only European operation with a clear relation with **NATO**, through Berlin Plus Agreement, which gave the **EU** the right to use some of **NATO**'s capabilities in necessity case⁽³⁷⁾. But **Brexit** does not necessarily mean probably that **UK** contributions on these missions & operations will come to an end, as British defence minister (**Falon**) put it: "the **United Kingdom** will remain to give concern to these missions & operations, there are different options to participate as an associate side".⁽³⁸⁾

⁽³⁴⁾ - IISS, Military Balance (2016), in: <https://www.iiss.org/publications/the-military-balance-2016>, seen on: 21st February 2016.

⁽³⁵⁾ Ibid. P 116.

⁽³⁶⁾ Richard G. William, the UK Foreign Policy after Brexit: Integrated, associated, or Detached, National Institute Economic Review, Vol. 238, Cambridge, Nov. 2016, pp r43-r50.

⁽³⁷⁾ EU Military Operations In Bosnia & Herzegovina (Operation Eufor Althea), Press-EU Council Secretary, Brussels, 2014, pp 1-2.

⁽³⁸⁾ Baker Anne Drent Margret, Zandee Dick, European Defence. How to engage the UK after Brexit ? Netherlands Institute of International Relations, Clingn Dael, the Hague 2017, p77.

As a result, **Brexit** will weaken the position of the **EU** as a regional active block in world politics, due to losing a great part of its budget. & also because of the diplomatic & the military weight of **UK**. **Brexit** will make the **EU** less powerful in confronting the influence of such great powers as the USA, Russia & China, because **UK** was classified 2nd in the **EU** after France in the field of military force, this put it at the top of the states which could develop a European common security & defence policy⁽³⁹⁾. With **Brexit**, the **EU** will not remain as it was, it will lose the equilibrium of the European tripartite between Britain, France & Germany. The **EU** will lose a nuclear power, with a permanent seat in the security council, that means that the **EU** will become an entity only with one nuclear power (France), surrounded by two nuclear powers, **UK** & Russia, & the USA as well. Adding to the strategic extension of **UK** in the Atlantic, the **EU** will lose the Important role of **UK linking** Europe & the USA.

2. Economic & Financial Effects: The first economic effect of **Brexit** is that the **EU** will lose nearly 12 % of its budget which will have a serious effect on the process & the development of the project of the union institutions. According to statistics of the Financial Department of the British government, **UK's** contribution in the **EU** budget in 2018 reached 11.88 %.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Concerning these contributions: In the field of security & defence policy, In 2016, the budget of his Policy was 16.5 billion Dollars, the contribution of **UK** was \$ 2.8 billion, **Germany** contributed by \$3.4 billion, **France** by \$ 2.5 billion. This shows that **UK** contributed too much to develop this policy.⁽⁴¹⁾

In the field of research & Development inside the European Defence Agency (EDA), according to statistics in 2015, **UK** classified 1st in its contribution in this field by 43 % of the total expenditures of the EDA, while France contributed by 41 %, & **Germany** by 10 %.

⁽³⁹⁾ IISS Military Balance, Op. Cit.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Share of total Contributions to European Budget in 2018, by member states, in: [http:// researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/sn06455/sn6455/pdf](http://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/sn06455/sn6455/pdf). Seen on: 12th February 2019

⁽⁴¹⁾ Perez Gimeno Mar? Consequences of Brexit in terms of Security for the United Kingdom, University Autonomous of Barcelona, Barcelona 2017, pp 12-13.

In the field of technological Research, **UK** contributed 25 % of the total expenditures of the EDA, **France** by 39 %, **Germany** by 25 % as well.⁽⁴²⁾

UK also contributed to the Project of the European Space Agency (**ESA**), which reached 323.3 million Euros in 2015 in the 3rd position after **Germany** with 79.7 million Euros, & **France** with 758.2.⁽⁴³⁾

All these show how the contributions of **UK** are very important in these fields. These contributions are to be lost by the **EU** which would create a big deficit, because of **Brexit**. More than that, **Brexit** will cause a big problem inside the **EU** about whether to accept the substitution of **UK** contributions by other member states or not, or that the matter requires to review completely the European contribution principles.

Because of **Brexit**, there is also the instability in the Euro zone, which may lead to the collapse of the European currency the **Euro**, if the great countries in the **EU**, like France & Germany, do not initiate measures to stop that.

3. Rising of the Far Right Movements in Europe: In 2016, the world witnessed a state of more rising of the weight of the far right powers. This is due to many factors, among them **Brexit**, in addition to the crisis of the Euro zone, & the adaptation of the mortification policies, with the decrease of the economic growth rates, & the increase of the unemployment rates.

All these increased the size of the state of non satisfaction among people in Europe about the EU. This caused the rise of the far right populism movements in Europe which were doubting about the **EU**,

⁽⁴²⁾ Bastian Giegrnich & Christian Molling, the United Kingdom Contribution to European Security & Defence, the International Institute of strategic Studies, UK 2018, pp 9-10-12..

⁽⁴³⁾ l' Europe a 5,6 M ds E pour Financer ses projets dans l'Espace, businessinsider.fr ; in: <https://www.forum-conquete-speciale.fr> % 17426-budget-2016, seen on: 22nd October 2018

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were opposing the economic policies, denouncing the ruling elites, & hostile to immigration.⁽⁴⁴⁾

According to a sounding out of opinions done in 2016, by the British establishment (**You Gov**), which is specialised in studying the public opinion, the results showed that the size of those who support the movements of the right & the far right, have increased, particularly in France, Holland, Germany, Denmark, Poland, & Hungary, (the most important countries participating in the building of the **EU**).

One of the essential cause of the rising of the right & the far right movements in Europe is **Brexit**. After a survey study on the public opinion in the **EU** states about choosing between the withdrawal from the **EU**, or the staying in it, by answering this question: “**If there was a referendum country’s membership of the EU, how would you vote?**”. The results showed that in many countries racism has increased as in France in which many voices have been raised against the **EU** policies, & asking for separation from this union. There have been a big fear from the consequences of **Brexit** that it would lead to a domino effect, & the increase of voices of far right parties demanding the separation from the **EU** inside other countries like, **the National Movement Party in France**, **the Party of Liberty in Holland**, & the Movement of the **Five Stars in Italy**, which actually started asking for referendums in their countries, & also the popular demands in other countries like Greece, because of its economic difficult situations.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Conclusion:

This study analysed a very important subject in our contemporary international relations, that is the **withdrawal** of the **United Kingdom** from the **European Union**, known by “**Brexit**”, which

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Niall MCarthy, Right Wing Populism’s Enormous Potential across Europe,22 November 2016, in: <https://www.statesta.com/chatr/6852/right-wihg-populism-enormous-potential-across-europe>, seen on: 15th July 2018.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Wind Marlene, Why the British Conception of Sovereignty was the main reason for Brexit, & Why British Leave Vote may end up saving rather than understanding the EU? CSF, SSS up working paper series 3 Pisa, Italy 2017, pp 10-22.

occurred after more than forty years of being a full member of the **EU**.

Four principal chapters compose this study, which are concerned with first the historical background of the relations between the **UK** & the **EC**, then with the **EU**, Second the chapters are concerned with the British **referendum** to leave this union, as well as the **reasons** behind this **withdrawal**, Finally, they are concerned with the different **effects** of the **withdrawal** on **UK** itself & on the **EU**

From the analysis of this study, we can say that even with the most important steps & the great success which the European integration experience process has achieved, by opening the frontiers between member states, then by creating one currency (the **Euro**), & finally by the construction of the **EU**, & the work to establish one foreign & defence policy. But this experience may come to a failure, due to the **withdrawal** of **UK** from the **EU**, which can lead to withdrawal of other European members, because of great problems & difficulties that the **EU** is confronting & probably will confront in the future.

In fact, the **EU** which for a long time has been described as the most successful of all world integration experiences, but the withdrawal of **UK** from it, puts the future of this international integration model & all its common policies in position of question. The **withdrawal** has also put the European decision Makers in front of a new reality which requires to review the reasons behind the retreat of the enthusiasm of the idea of the European integration, & the return back into the idea of protection by the national state, which seems that some have exaggerated in their predictions that Europe has the power to overcome the national state, & transit toward a supra-national European identity, which would represent an access to defeat many challenges & conflicts which Europe has confronted for centuries. But unfortunately, this has become a difficult hope to be achieved.

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